

# **New Security Challenges**

Department of International Relations

University of Sussex

## **COURSE CONVENOR**

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## Course Summary

MA New Security Challenges 2010		
Week	Lecturer	Topic
1	Brighton	Resilience and Security in Global Context: the Case of the UK
2	Smirl	Conflict, Security and Development
3	Gutkowski	Religions, Civilizations and Security: the Politics of Identity
4	Smirl	Energy Security and Resource Conflict
5	Brighton	Terrorism
6	Gomez	Transformation of War
7	Stavrianakis	The Arms Trade
8	Gomez	Insurgency and Counterinsurgency
9	Selby	Environmental Security
10	Burman	British Foreign Policy in a time of Austerity: the Coalition and Britain's role in the World.

## Aims and Objectives

*New Security Challenges* offers an advanced overview of the key international security issues today: from terrorism, the arms trade and the changing nature of war through to new emerging challenges such as climate change, infrastructural resilience and complex emergencies.

For much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, security was defined in terms of the protection of sovereign states through the use of armed force. With the end of the Cold War, new sources of insecurity have been identified and a new agenda for security policy has emerged. Links have been drawn between security and climate change, the spread of infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS and avian flu, while new approaches centring upon 'human security' have for some deepened the linkages between security and development problems and policy.

This wider security agenda has seen an expansion of the kind of organisations and forms of expertise involved in countering threats. The dependence of new forms of military interventions on the success of local development and capacity building has meant increased emphasis on the role of humanitarian and development agencies in achieving security. The vulnerability of such projects meanwhile, has meant a flourishing in private-sector security providers whose services extend from intelligence analysis through to close protection. The events of 9/11 and subsequent terrorist attacks have also served to highlight the vulnerability of businesses and civilians, raising questions about where responsibility for the management of security resides.

Each week, *New Security Challenges* focuses on a key dimension of contemporary security. The course then investigates how a wide array of institutions and policy makers have sought to respond through military interventions, intelligence, diplomacy, the creation of international regimes and international law.

On completing the course a successful student should be able to: [i] understand a wide range of contemporary security issues and the potential relations between them [ii] formulate academically informed opinions about, and demonstrate knowledge in depth of, particular contemporary security issues [iii] understand the differences between the narrow and the broader security agenda.

## **Assessment**

The course is assessed in two ways: a policy analysis exercise and a written examination. The former takes the form of a Policy Analysis Paper. This is assessed and commented on but does not count towards the final grade awarded for the course: its function is 'formative', providing an opportunity for students to have the experience of conducting exam-relevant research, producing written work and gaining feedback without effecting their overall grade. The final exam is usually in the first week of the Spring term. It counts for 100% of the marks awarded for the course.

## **Policy Analysis Exercise**

To be submitted in week six, this exercise is intended to simulate the kind of policy-oriented research and writing frequently undertaken by analysts in lobby groups, think-tanks, NGOs, government departments etc. In the context of the course, it also provides an opportunity to research a contemporary security challenge and an organisation to which it applies.

You are required to analyse a security challenge with a view to providing a 'Briefing Paper' of no more than 1,750 words (excluding references) to a chief executive officer or another senior policy-maker within a international corporation, international governmental or non-governmental organisation of your choice. (Examples might include a company such as British Telecom, governmental units such as the UK's Department for International Development or NGOs such as WaterAid or *Médecins Sans Frontières*). You might want to limit your advice to a specific geographical area or provide general guidance for a global approach.

The task of the Briefing Paper is to *support a policy decision* about how to overcome the challenge in question or manage its effects. To do so it needs to:

- be clearly written
- be credible (e.g., well-researched)
- demonstrate a realistic understanding of the role, objectives, limitations and capabilities of the organisation.

You should assume your readers has a broad familiarity with issue, but avoid excessive jargon or an excessively technical focus. You are required to cite your sources using a bibliography at the end and are subject to the usual academic demands regarding plagiarism.

While they may vary according to context, Briefing Papers of this sort are sometimes structured in the following way:

1. **Definition:** succinct verification and description of the problem to be addressed.
2. **Background:** relevant historical information and any significant political, social or economic factors.
3. **Criteria for Success:** what can realistically be achieved?
4. **Options:** outline of possible policies for solving the problem or managing its effects.
5. **Analysis:** consideration of the relative strengths of the policies identified in section 4 with reference to criteria offered in section 3.
6. **Recommendations:** details of the best available option and summation of the supporting evidence.

## Feedback and Problems

If you encounter problems please contact Dr Brighton. The best way to do this is in person during his office hours. Alternatively he can be contacted via email - [s.brighton@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:s.brighton@sussex.ac.uk) - or, where possible, after seminars. We are keen consider your evaluations of this course and anonymous course evaluation forms will be distributed in the penultimate week of term.

## Learning Methods

In addition to attending lectures and seminars, students are expected to engage in independent study throughout the course. In doing so, the reading list below is a vital resource but by no means exhaustive – creative research and engagement with high quality media sources and publically available government and other documentation are encouraged (see below for some pointers). There will be a series of 1.5 hr weekly seminars. These are an opportunity for students to explore course themes together and raise issues encountered in their independent study. Students will be expected to contribute to discussions and make presentations.

## Skills Development

This course will allow students to further develop the following skills: [i] presentation skills in weekly seminars, [ii] professional writing skills through composing a

Briefing Paper that requires them to read widely and synthesize multiple sources of information and [iii] problem solving skills by exploring large amounts of information to provide decision-relevant conclusions, [iv] reflective skills by critically evaluating competing interpretations of contemporary security issues [v] information technology skills by using word processing for the Briefing Paper and seminar notes and by drawing on the internet to obtain further information on contemporary security challenges, [iv] skills time management and working under pressure through undertaking an unseen examination.

## Using the Library

Arrangements will be made so that important course texts will be made available in the library. Other useful texts that are not in the libraries normal collection will be made available where necessary. If material listed appears to have disappeared altogether or damaged please let the library staff know about this, and they will inform the course supervisor, so we can make alternative sources available wherever possible. Similarly if you cannot find any of the material listed, because it is out on loan, do search through the rest of the collection to find other relevant texts. The reading lists are deliberately extensive to allow you to consult other works if your first choice is not available. Remember also that the reading list does not exhaustively list all the available material in the library on a given subject. If you find anything particularly valuable let the course supervisor know so that material can be added to subsequent years reading lists.

## General Reading

Useful textbooks include:

Collins, A. *Contemporary Security Studies* (Oxford: OUP, 2006).

Michael E. Brown, ed., *Grave new world: security challenges in the 21st century* (Washington, D.C. : Georgetown University Press, 2003).

Lynn-Jones, S. M. and Miller, S. (eds.) *Global Dangers: Changing Dimensions of International Security* (London: MIT Press, 1995).

Baylis, J. et al., *Strategy in the Contemporary World* (Oxford: OUP, 2002).

Booth, K. *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future Global Order* (London: Palgrave, 2002).

Jones, C. and Kennedy-Pipe, C. (eds.) *International Security in a Global Age: Securing the Twenty-First Century* (London: Frank Cass, 2000).

Krahmann, E. (ed.) *New Threats and New Actors in International Security* (London: Palgrave, 2005).

Pettiford, L. and Curley M. *Changing Security Agendas and the Third World* (London: Pinter, 1999).

Spillmann, K. and Krause, J. (eds.) *International Security Challenges in a Changing World* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1999).

Snyder, C. (ed.) *Contemporary Security and Strategy* (London: Macmillan, 1999).

Terrif, T. et al (eds.) *Security Studies Today* (Cambridge: Polity, 1999).

## **Academic Journals**

You are encouraged to make increasing use of the wide selection of electronic journals available through the library website. Of particular use are: Adelphi Papers; Diplomacy and Statecraft; Foreign Affairs; Foreign Policy; Journal of Conflict Resolution; Journal of International Affairs; International Affairs; International Organization; International Security; International Studies Quarterly; Millennium; Orbis; Security Studies; Survival; Third World Quarterly; World Politics; Armed Forces and Society; Conflict and Cooperation; European Journal of International Relations; European Security; International Studies Quarterly; Journal of Conflict Resolution; Journal of Peace Research; Journal of Strategic Studies; Parameters; Review of International Studies.

## **Web Resources**

Students are encouraged to explore web resources for themselves (but always be critical about the quality and bias of what they encounter). Recommended sites include:

Complex Terrain Laboratory: <http://www.terraplexic.org/>

Combating Terrorism Centre (Westpoint): <http://ctc.usma.edu/sentinel/>

UK Defence Academy: <http://www.da.mod.uk/podcasts>

'MERLIN' US National Defence University: <http://merln.ndu.edu/>

US Institute of Peace: <http://www.usip.org/>

Institute for War and Peace Reporting: <http://www.iwpr.org>

US Army War College: <http://www.carlisle.army.mil/>

International Studies Association web resources: <http://www.isanet.org/links/>

US Naval Postgraduate School: <http://www.nps.edu/>

US Homeland Security: <http://www.inhomelandsecurity.com/>

UK Resilience (Cabinet Office Civil Contingencies Secretariat):

<http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/ukresilience.aspx>

RAND Corps: <http://www.rand.org/>

Center for Strategic and International Studies: <http://csis.org/>

Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies: <http://www.rusi.org>

Chatham House (Royal Institute for International Affairs):

<http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk>

International Institute for Strategic Studies: <http://www.iiss.org>

Brookings Institute: <http://www.brookings.edu/>

Arms Control Resources: <http://www.armscontrol.org/>

Bitter Lemons: <http://www.bitterlemons.org/>

Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies: <http://www.ciss.ca/>

Centre for Defence Information (good on proliferation issues etc): <http://www.cdi.org/>

CIA Factbook: <http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/>  
Human Rights Watch <http://www.hrw.org/>  
International Crisis Group: <http://www.icg.org/home/index.cfm>

## **Week 1: Resilience and Security in Global Context: the Case of the UK**

- What is the relationship between ‘resilience’ and security?
- How has the UK government’s security policy after 9/11 recognised the limits of state power? How has it sought to manage those limitations?

### *Required Reading:*

United Kingdom Cabinet Office, *The National Security Strategy of the United Kingdom: Security in an Interdependent World* (London: HMSO, 2008).

Gregory, F. ‘Private Sector Roles in Counter-Terrorism’ in Wilkinson, P. *Homeland Security in the UK: Future Preparedness for Terrorist Attack Since 9/11* (London: Routledge, 2007).

Gregory, F. ‘UK Draft Civil Contingencies Bill and the Subsequent Act: Building Blocks for Homeland Security?’ in Wilkinson, P. *Homeland Security in the UK: Future Preparedness for Terrorist Attack Since 9/11* (London: Routledge, 2007).

### *Further Reading:*

#### *On Resilience:*

Lentzos, F. and Rose, N. ‘Governing insecurity: contingency planning, protection, resilience’, *Economy and Society*, 38(2): 230-254. (2009).

Wilkinson, P. *Homeland Security in the UK: Future Preparedness for Terrorist Attack Since 9/11* (London: Routledge, 2007). (Various chapters.)

The website of the Cabinet Office Civil Contingencies Secretariat is well worth studying in detail to get a sense of UK approaches to resilience:  
<http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/ukresilience.aspx>

Of particular interest are articles at:

<http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/ukresilience/publications.aspx> and:

<http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/civilresilience>

### *Counter-terrorism and Intelligence:*

- Cronin, A. and Ludes, J. M., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2004) chapters 5.
- National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report* (New York: Norton, 2004) also downloadable from: <http://www.9-11commission.gov/> see in particular chapters 3, 4 and 8.
- Gill, P. and Phythian, M. *Intelligence in an Insecure World* (Cambridge: Polity, 2006). Especially chapter 6, on 'intelligence failure'.
- Pillar, P., *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Chapter 4 and pp. 140-156.
- The White House, "The National Security Strategy of the United States," Sept. 2002. Available on-line at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf>
- The White House, "National Strategy for Combating Terrorism," February 2003. Available on-line at: [http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/counter\\_terrorism/counter\\_terrorism\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/counter_terrorism/counter_terrorism_strategy.pdf)
- On 2005 London Bombings and UK Counter-terrorism:*
- Metropolitan Police Authority, *Counter-Terrorism: the London Debate*. (Available online).
- House of Commons, *Report into the official account of the bombings in London on 7th July 2005* (London: Stationery Office, 2006). (Available online).
- House of Commons Intelligence and Security Committee (ISC) report of May 2006, *Report into the London terrorist attacks on 7 July 2005* (London: Stationery Office, 2006). (Available Online)
- Rai, M. *7/7: the London Bombing, Islam and the Iraq War* (London; Pluto, 2006).
- Hewitt, S., *The British War on Terror: Terrorism and Counter-terrorism on the Home Front Since 9/11* (London: Continuum, 2008).
- Black, C. *7-7: the London Bombs. What went wrong?* (London: Gibson Square, 2005).
- Tumelty, P. 'Reassessing the July 21 Bombings', *Terrorism Monitor* Vo. III, No 17, September 2005. (Downloadable from Jamestown Foundation Website).
- Rehman, J., 'Islam, "War on Terror" and the Future of Muslim Minorities in the United Kingdom: Dilemmas of Multiculturalism in the Aftermath of the London Bombings' *Human Rights Quarterly* 29 (2007) 831–878. (JSTOR).
- Brighton, S. "British Muslims, multiculturalism and UK foreign policy: 'integration' and 'cohesion' in and beyond the state" *International Affairs* 83: 1 (2007) 1–17.

McRoy, Anthony. *From Rushdie to 7/7: the radicalisation of Islam in Britain* (London: Social Affairs Unit, 2006).

## **Week 2: Conflict, Security & Development**

- Can “development” ever be separated from “conflict” and “security”?
- Whose security are contemporary development interventions most concerned with?

### *Required Readings:*

Duffield, Mark. (2001) *Chapters 1, 2 & 5 Global Governance and the New Wars : The Merging of Development and Security*. London: Zed.

Mac Ginty, Roger; and Andrew Williams. (2009) Introduction In *Conflict and Development*, edited by Roger Mac Ginty and Andrew Williams. London: Routledge.

Munkler, Herfried. (2005) Chapter 1 - What's New About New Wars. In *The New Wars*, Herfried Munkler, pp. viii, 180 p. Oxford: Polity.

### *Further Readings:*

Barnett, Michael. (2005) Humanitarianism Transformed. *Perspectives on Politics* 3:723-44.

Berdal, Mats R.; and David M. Malone. (2000) *Greed and Grievance : Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Campbell, David. (1998) *National Deconstruction : Violence, Identity, and Justice in Bosnia*. Minneapolis, Minn. ; London: University of Minneapolis Press.

Chandler, David. (2006) *Empire in Denial*. London: Pluto Press.

———. (2008) Review Article: Theorising the Shift from Security to Insecurity - Kaldor, Duffield and Furedi. *Conflict, Security & Development* 8:265-76.

Chesterman, Simon. (2004) *You, the People : The United Nations, Transitional Administration, and State-Building*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chetail, Vincent. (2009) *Post-Conflict Peacebuilding : A Lexicon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cochrane, Feargal, Rosaleen Duffy; and Jan Selby. (2003) *Global Governance, Conflict and Resistance*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Collier, Paul. (2003) *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. Oxford: OUP/World Bank.

———. (2007) *Chapter 2 - the Bottom Billion : Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing and What Can Be Done About It*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- . (2009) *Wars, Guns, and Votes : Democracy in Dangerous Places*. London: Bodley Head.
- Cramer, Christopher (2006) *Civil War Is Not a Stupid Thing : Accounting for Violence in Developing Countries*. London: Hurst & Co.
- Crocker, Chester A., Fen Osler Hampson; and Pamela R. Aall. (2006) *Leashing the Dogs of War : Conflict Management in a Divided World*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Darby, John; and Roger Mac Ginty. (2003) *Contemporary Peacemaking : Conflict, Violence, and Peace Processes*. pp. xiii, 296 p. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire,: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dower, Nigel. (1999) Development, Violence and Peace: A Conceptual Exploration. *The European Journal of Development Research* 11:44 - 64.
- Duffield, Mark R. (2007) *Development, Security and Unending War : Governing the World of Peoples*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Englebert, Pierre; and Denis M. Tull. (2008) Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa: Flawed Ideas About Failed States. *International Security* 32:106-39.
- Harmer, Adele. (2008) Integrated Missions: A Threat to Humanitarian Security? *International Peacekeeping* 15:528-39.
- Hochschild, Adam. (2006) *King Leopold's Ghost : A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Updated ed. ed. London: Pan.
- Hoffman, Danny. (2004) The Civilian Target in Sierra Leone and Liberia: Political Power, Military Strategy, and Humanitarian Intervention. *Afr Aff (Lond)* 103:211-26.
- Jackson, Robert. (2004) International Engagement in War-Torn Countries. *Global Governance* 10:21-36.
- Kaldor, Mary. (2006) Chapter 1 - Introduction In *New & Old Wars*, edited by Mary Kaldor, p. 231 p. Cambridge: Polity.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. (2001) 'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction? *World Politics* 54:99-118.
- . (2006) *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Keen, David. (2008) *Complex Emergencies*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Le Billon, Philippe. (2005) *Geopolitics of Resource Wars : Resource Dependence, Governance and Violence*. Cass Studies in Geopolitics, 1466-7940. London: Frank Cass.
- Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. (2003) Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict. *International Security* 28:79-109.
- . (2007) Military Intervention and the Humanitarian "Force Multiplier". *Global Governance* 13:99-118.

- Mamdani, Mahmood. (2002) *When Victims Become Killers : Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton, N.J. ; Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Mills, Kurt. (2005) Neo-Humanitarianism: The Role of International Humanitarian Norms and Organizations in Contemporary Conflict. *Global Governance* 11:161-83.
- Moyo, Dambisa. (2009) *Dead Aid : Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is Another Way for Africa*. London: Allen Lane.
- OECD DAC. (2008) Introduction and Chapter 1 In *Resource Flows to Fragile and Conflict-Affected States*, edited by OECD DAC. Paris: OECD DAC.
- Paris, Roland. (2006) *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Power, Samantha. (2008) *Chasing the Flame : Sergio Vieira De Mello and the Fight to Save the World*. London: Allen Lane.
- Pupovac, Vanessa. (2005) Human Security and the Rise of Global Therapeutic Governance *Conflict, Security & Development* 5:161-81.
- Regan, Patrick M. (2005) Green, Grievance and Mobilization in Civil Wars. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49.
- Reno, William. (2000) Shadow States and the Political Economy of Civil Wars. In *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*, edited by Mats Berdal and David Malone. Boulder: Lynne Reiner.
- Sambanis, Nicholas. (2004) What Is Civil War?: Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48:814-58.
- Security Studies. (2004) Special Issue on Ethnic Conflict. *Security Studies* 13.
- Shaw, Martin. (2000) The Contemporary Mode of Warfare? Mary Kaldor's Theory of New Wars. *Review of International Political Economy* 7:171-80.
- Stewart, Frances; and E. V. K. Fitzgerald. (2001) *War and Underdevelopment. Volume 1, the Economic and Social Consequences of Conflict*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stoddard, Abby, Adele Harmer; and Victoria DiDomenico. (2009) *Private Security Contracting in Humanitarian Operations*. London: Humanitarian Policy Group.
- Stoddard, Abby, Adele Harmer; and Katherine Haver. (2009) Providing Aid in Insecure Environments: 2009 Update. In *Humanitarian Policy Group: Overseas Development Institute*.
- UN Secretary-General, UN Secretary-General. 1992. *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-Keeping*.
- Weiss, Thomas George; and Cindy Collins. (2000) Humanitarian Challenges and Intervention. *Dilemmas in World Politics*. 2nd ed. ed. Boulder, Colo. ; Oxford: Westview Press.
- Welsh, Jennifer M. (2004) *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wheeler, Nicholas J. (2000) *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### **Week 3: Religions, Civilizations and Security: The Politics of Identity**

- Is identity politics back? Do you agree with Huntington's argument that conflict between civilizations will be the latest phase in the evolution of conflict in the modern world?
- When is religiously-inspired political violence more likely to happen?

#### *Required readings:*

Huntington, Samuel, "The Clash of Civilisations?", *Foreign Affairs*, 72 (1993): 22-49.

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organised Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), ch. 4, 69-89. (72-94 in 2<sup>nd</sup> edition).

Hasenclever, Andreas and Volker Rittberger. 2003. "Does Religion Make a Difference? Theoretical Approaches to the Impact of Faith on Political Conflict", in *Religion in International Relations: the Return From Exile*. Pavlos Hatzopoulos and Fabio Petito, eds. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 107-145.

#### *Further readings:*

Scott, Thomas, "Taking Religious and Cultural Pluralism Seriously: The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Society", *Millennium*, Special Issue on Religion and IR, vol. 29, no.3 (2000): 815-41.

Falk, Richard, "A Worldwide Religious Resurgence in an Era of Globalization and Apocalyptic Terrorism" in *Religion in International Relations: The Return from Exile*, eds. Fabio Petito and Pavlos Hatzopoulos (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 181-208.

Philpott, Daniel, "The challenge of September 11 to Secularism in International Relations", *World Politics* 55 (October 2002): 66-95.

Petito, Fabio and Pavlos Hatzopoulos, "The Return from Exile: An Introduction", in *Religion in International Relations: The Return from Exile*, eds. Fabio Petito and Pavlos Hatzopoulos (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 1-20 and the "Epilogue" in the same volume by Terry Nardin, 271-82.

Laustsen, Carsten Bagge and Ole Waever. 2003. "In Defense of Religion: Sacred Referent Objects for Securitization." In *Religion in International Relations: the Return From Exile*, ed. Pavlos Hatzopoulos and Fabio Petito, eds. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 147-180.

Schwartz, Regina M, *The curse of Cain: the violent legacy of monotheism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), ch 1.

- Appleby, Scott, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation* (Rowman & Littlefield 2000),
- Berger, Peter (ed.), *The Desecularization of the World: resurgent religion and world politics* (Eerdmans, 1999).
- Bull, Hedley, "The Revolt Against the West", in H. Bull and Adam Watson (eds.), *The Expansion of International Society* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 214-228.
- Castells, Manuel. *The Power of Identity The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, vol. II (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1997)
- Girard, René *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977) and *The Scapegoat*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1986. Website of the colloquium on Religion and Violence (COV&R) <http://www.uibk.ac.at/theol/cover/>
- Hoffman, Bruce. "Holy Terror": The Implications of Terrorism Motivated by a Religious Imperative. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 18: 271-284.
- Johnston, Douglas and Cynthia Sampson. 1995. Religion, the Missing Dimension of Statecraft. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Johnston, Douglas, ed., *Faith-based diplomacy: trumping realpolitik* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Juergensmeyer, Mark, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000)
- Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2004. 'From Bhindranwale to Bin Laden: The Rise of Religious Violence', <http://repositories.cdlib.org/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1024&context=gis>
- Esposito, John L. and Michael Watson (eds.), *Religion and Global Order* (University of Wales, 2000).
- Gopin, Marc, *Between Eden and Armageddon: The Future of World Religions, Violence, and Peacemaking*. Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Gray, John, *Al Qaeda and What It Means to be Modern* (Faber & Faber, 2003).
- Haynes, Jeff, (2001), "Transnational Religious Actors and International Politics", *Third World Quarterly*, 22 (2), 143-58.
- Haynes, Jeff, *Religion and Politics in the Third World* (Open U.P., 1993).
- Huntington, Samuel P., *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (Simon & Schuster, 1996)
- Kaldor, Mary *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), esp. ch 2 and 4.

- Kepel, Gilles, *The Revenge of God: the Resurgence of Islam, Christianity and Judaism in the Modern World* (Polity Press, 1994).
- Lapid, Yosef and Friedrich Kratochwil, *The Return of Culture and Identity in International Relations Theory* (London: Lynne Rienner, 1996).
- Petito, Fabio and Pavlos Hatzopoulos (eds.), *Religion in International Relations: The Return from Exile*, (New York: Palgrave, 2003).
- Scott, Thomas, *Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Relations* (New York: Palgrave, 2005)
- Volf, Miroslav, "Forgiveness, Reconciliation, and Justice: A Theological Contribution to a More Peaceful Social Environment", *Millennium* 29, no.3 (2000): 861-77.

#### **Week 4: Resource Conflict, Energy Security**

- Given the continuous increases in global population and resource and energy demands, are international resource conflicts likely to become more frequent and intense over the next quarter century?
- Are different resources associated with distinctive political dynamics? Do some tend to create more conflict than others? Do different resources generate different types of conflict?

##### *Required readings:*

- Bromley, Simon, 'Blood for oil?' *New Political Economy*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (2006), pp. 419-34.
- Collier, Paul, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can Be Done About It* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), ch. 3.
- Le Billon, 'Angola's political economy of war: the role of oil and diamonds, 1975-2000', *African Affairs*, Vol. 100 ((2001), pp. 55-80.

##### *Further readings:*

- Billon, Philippe Le, ed., *The Geopolitics of Resource Wars* (London: Routledge, 2007).
- Bromley, Simon, *American Hegemony and World Oil: The Industry, The State System and the World Economy* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991).
- Bromley, Simon, 'The US and the control of world oil', *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (2005), pp. 225-55.

- Campbell, John, 'Oil and power in the Middle East', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 56 (1977-78).
- Claes, Dag, *The Politics of Oil-Producer Cooperation* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001).
- Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler, 'Greed and grievance in civil war', *Oxford Economic Papers*, Vol. 56, No. 4 (2004), pp. 563-595.
- Dangl, Ben, *The Price of Fire: Resource Wars and Social Movements in Bolivia* (Oakland: AK Press, 2007).
- De Oliveira, Ricardo Soares, *Oil and Politics in the Gulf of Guinea* (London: Hurst, 2007).
- Klare, Michael, *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict* (New York: Metropolitan, 2001), ch. 1.
- Luciani, Giacomo, 'Production vs. allocation states', in Luciani, ed., *The Arab State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).
- Lujala, Paivi, Nils Petter Gleditsch and Elisabeth Gilmore, 'A diamond curse? Civil war and a lootable resource', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (2005), pp. 538-62.
- Nitzan, Jonathan and Shimshom Bichler, 'Bringing capital accumulation back in: the Weapondollar-Petrodollar Coalition - military contractors, oil companies and Middle East "energy conflicts"', *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1995), pp. 446-515.
- Ross, Michael, 'Does oil hinder democracy?', *World Politics*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (2001), pp. 325-61.
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## 5. Terrorism

- Are the advantages of suicide terrorism best understood as strategic or symbolic?
- Which concept best describes al-Qaeda's organizational structure? Which strengths and weaknesses can you identify with the 'bunch of guys', 'network' and 'hierarchy' models?

### *Required Reading:*

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Sageman, M. 'Confronting al-Qaeda: Understanding the Threat in Afghanistan and Beyond', *Testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee*, October 7, 2009.

Hoffman, Bruce (2009) 'Radicalization and Subversion: Al Qaeda and the 7 July 2005 Bombings and the 2006 Airline Bombing Plot', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 32: 12, 1100 — 1116

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Dale, S. F. 'Religious Suicide in Islamic Asia: Anticolonial terrorism in India, Indonesia, and the Philippines,' *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 32 (1), March 1988, pp.37-59. (JSTOR).

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- Hoffman-Sageman Exchange:*
- Downloadable from *Foreign Affairs*:
- <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080501fareviewessay87310/bruce-hoffman/the-myth-of-grass-roots-terrorism.html>
- and:
- <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080701faresponse87415/marc-sageman-bruce-hoffman/does-osama-still-call-the-shots.html>
- WMD Terrorism*
- ‘‘WMD Terrorism: An Exchange,’’ *Survival* 44:4 (Winter 1998/99), pp. 168-183
- Jerrold Post, ‘‘Differentiating the Threats of Chemical and Biological Weapons: Motivations and Constraints,’’ *Peace and Conflict* 8:3 (September 2002), pp. 187-200
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Laurie Garrett, "The Nightmare of Bioterrorism" *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2001)

Kate Ivanova and Todd Sandler, "CBRN Incidents: Political Regimes, Perpetrators, and Targets," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18:3 (Fall 2006), 423-448

Marc Ostfield, "Bioterrorism as a Foreign Policy Issue," *SAIS Review* 24:1 (Winter-Spring 2004), pp. 131-146

## **Week 6: Transformations of War**

- Has the nature of warfare changed? If so, in what way?
- In what ways has contemporary warfare become more complex?
- How far is military force still relevant to today's security threats?

### *Required Reading:*

Thomas X. Hammes, 'War evolves into the fourth generation', *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol.26, No.2 (August 2005), pp.189–221.

Antulio J. Echevarria II, 'Deconstructing the theory of fourth-generation war', *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol.26, No.2 (August 2005), pp. 233–241.

Lawrence Freedman, *The Transformation of Strategic Affairs*, *Adelphi Paper No. 379* (2006).

### *Further readings:*

Carl von Clausewitz, 'What is War?', *On War*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

Robert Jervis, 'The Future of World Politics: Will It Resemble the Past?' *International Security* 16, no. 3 (Winter 1991/92).

John Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (Knopf, 1994).

Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World* (Penguin, 2006).

Paul Hirst, sections on 'The Revolution in Military Affairs' (pp. 88-96) and 'The Future of War' (pp. 79-109) in *War and Power in the 21st Century* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001).

Barkawi, T, *Globalization and War* (London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006).

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- Ignatieff, Michael, *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000).
- Kaldor, M & Vashee, B, eds., *Restructuring The Global Military Sector: Volume 1 – New Wars* (London: Pinter, 1997).
- Kaldor, Mary, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity, 1999).
- Latham, Andrew, ‘Re-imagining Warfare: The ‘Revolution in Military Affairs’’, in Snyder, Craig A, ed., *Contemporary Security and Strategy* (London: Macmillan, 1999), 210-236.
- Munkler, H, *The New Wars* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005).
- Rogers, P, *Losing Control: Global Security in the Twenty-first Century*, second edition (London: Pluto Press, 2002).
- Shaw, M, *The New Western Way of War: Risk Transfer war and its Crisis in Iraq* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005).
- Shaw, M, *Post-Military Society: Militarism, Demilitarization and War at the End of the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991).
- Van Creveld, M, *The Transformation Of War* (NY: Free Press, 1991).

## 7. The Arms Trade

- What challenges does the arms trade pose for international security?
- Are small arms “the real weapons of mass destruction”?
- What is the point of arms control?

### *Required Readings:*

- Stavrianakis, Anna, *Taking Aim At The Arms Trade. NGOs, Global Civil Society and the World Military Order*, London: Zed, 2010, chapter 2
- Mutimer, David, “‘A Serious Threat to Peace, Reconciliation, Safety, Security’: An Effective Reading of the United Nations Programme of Action,” *Contemporary Security Policy*, 27(1): April 2006, 29-44
- Cooper, Neil, “What’s the Point of Arms Transfer Controls?” *Contemporary Security Policy*, 27(1), April 2006, 118-137

*Further Readings:*

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- Bitzinger, Richard A, “The Globalization of the Arms Industry: The Next Proliferation Challenge”, *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1994, pp. 170-198.
- Blanton, Shannon Lindsey, ‘Instruments of Security or Tools of Repression? Arms Imports and Human Rights Conditions in Developing Countries’, *Journal of Peace Research*, 36: 2 (1999), pp. 233-44.
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- Bourne, Mike, *Arming Conflict. The Proliferation of Small Arms*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007
- Buzan, Barry and Eric Herring, *The Arms Dynamic in World Politics*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998.
- Carchedi, Guglielmo, “Waste, Weapons and Crises,” *Rethinking Marxism*, 14(2): Summer 2002, 102-4
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- Control Arms, *Shattered Lives. The Case for Tough International Arms Control*, London/Oxford: Amnesty International and Oxfam, 2003
- Cooper, Neil, “The Pariah Agenda and New Labour's Ethical Arms Sales Policy”, in Little, Richard and Mark Wickham-Jones, (eds.), *New Labour's Foreign Policy. A New Moral Crusade?*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Crawford-Browne, Terry, “The Arms Deal Scandal”, *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 100, 2004, pp. 329-342.
- Economics of Peace and Security Journal*, Symposium on “The UK Military Industrial Complex,” vol.3, no. 1, 2008.
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- Garcia, Denise, *Small Arms and Security. New Emerging International Norms*, London: Routledge, 2006.

- Grant, Jonathan A., *Rulers, Guns, and Money. The Global Arms Trade in the Age of Imperialism*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Hayward, Keith, "The Globalisation of Defence Industries", *Survival*, Vol. 42, No. 2, 2000, pp. 115-132.
- Kaldor, Mary and Asbjorn Eide (eds.) *The World Military Order. The Impact of Military Technology on the Third World*, London: Macmillan, 1979.
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- Miller, Davina, *Export or Die. Britain's Defence Trade with Iran and Iraq*, London: Cassell, 1996.
- Muggah, Robert, "Emerging from the Shadow of War: A Critical Perspective on DDR and Weapons Reduction in the Post-Conflict Period," *Contemporary Security Policy*, 27(1): 190-205
- Muggah, Robert, *Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction. Dealing with Fighters in the Aftermath of War*, London: Routledge, 2008
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- Phythian, Mark, *The Politics of British Arms Sales since 1964*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.

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- Stanley, John and Pearton, Maurice, *The International Trade in Arms*, London: Chatto & Windus, 1972.
- Small Arms Survey, *Small Arms Survey*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001 and subsequent years.
- Spear, Joanna and Neil Cooper, "The Defence Trade", in Alan Collins (ed.), *Contemporary Security Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 2010, pp.394-412.
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#### Websites

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- Control Arms Campaign, <http://www.controlarms.org>
- Federation of American Scientists, <http://www.fas.org>
- Foreign and Commonwealth Office, <http://www.fco.gov.uk>
- Saferworld, <http://www.saferworld.org.uk>
- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, <http://www.sipri.org>

## 8. Insurgency and counterinsurgency

- What are the conceptual problems with the terms 1) insurgency 2) terrorism 3) low-intensity conflict?

- Can irregular warfare be defeated?

*Required Reading:*

James D. Kiras, Chapter 9, "Terrorism and Irregular Warfare", in J. Baylis et al (eds.), *Strategy in the Contemporary World: An Introduction to Strategic Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 208-232.

Colin S. Gray, Chapter 18, "Irregular warfare: Guerrillas, insurgents and terrorists", in *War, Peace and International Relations: An Introduction to Strategic History* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 245-263.

Paul Wilkinson, Chapter 1, "Insurgency and Terrorism", in *Terrorism Versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response* (London: Frank Cass, 2006), pp. 1-18.

*Further reading:*

Roger Beaumont, "Small Wars: Definitions and Dimensions", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 541 (Sep 1995), pp. 20-35.

Eqbal Ahmad, "Revolutionary War and Counter-Insurgency", *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 25, No.1 (1971), pp.1-47.

Walter Laqueur, "The Origins of Guerrilla Doctrine", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (July 1975), pp. 341-382.

John Arquilla, "The end of war as we knew it? Insurgency, counterinsurgency and lessons from the forgotten history of early terror networks", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (March 2007), pp 369-386.

Daniel Marston & Carter Malkasian (eds.), *Counterinsurgency in Modern Warfare* (Oxford: Osprey, 2008).

*Difficulties of Current COIN:*

Kelly M. Greenhill & Paul Staniland, "Ten Ways to Lose at Counterinsurgency", *Civil Wars*, Vol.9, No.4 (December 2007), pp. 402-419.

Michael G. Findley & Joseph K. Young, "Fighting Fire with Fire? How (Not) to Neutralize an Insurgency", *Civil Wars*, Vol.9, No.4 (December 2007), pp. 378-401.

David J. Kilcullen, "Countering Global Insurgency", *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (August 2005), pp. 597-617.

## **Week 9: Environmental Security**

- Is the environment a cause of insecurity? If so, then why?

- What can and should policy makers do to prepare for and mitigate future environmental conflicts?

*Required readings:*

Dalby, Simon, *Environmental Security* (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 2002), ch. 4.

Selby, Jan, 'Oil and water: the contrasting anatomies of resource conflicts', *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (2005).

Nordas, Ragnhild and Nils Peter Gleditsch, 'Climate change and conflict', *Political Geography*, Vol. 26 (2007), pp. 627-38.

*Further readings:*

Allan, Tony, *The Middle East Water Question: Hydropolitics and the Global Economy* (London: IB Tauris, 2000).

Barnett, Jon, *The Meaning of Environmental Security: Ecological Politics and Policy in the New Security Era* (London: Zed, 2001).

Barnett, Jon, 'Security and climate change', *Global Environmental Change*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (2003), pp. 7-17.

Barnett, Jon and W. Adger, 'Climate change, human security and violent conflict', *Political Geography*, Vol. 26, No. 6 (2007), pp. 639-55.

Billon, Philippe Le, ed., *The Geopolitics of Resource Wars* (London: Routledge, 2007).

Brauch, Hans-Guenther et al (eds.), *Globalisation and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualising Security in the 21st Century* (Berlin: Springer, 2008).

Bulloch, John and Adel Darwish, *Water Wars: Coming Conflicts in the Middle East* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1993).

Dangl, Ben, *The Price of Fire: Resource wars and Social Movements in Bolivia* (Oakland: AK Press, 2007).

Elliott, Lorraine, *The Global Politics of the Environment* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998).

Giddens, Anthony, *The Politics of Climate Change* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009).

Gleick, Peter, 'Water and conflict: freshwater resources and international security', *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (1993), pp. 79-112.

Dalby, Simon, *Security and Environmental Change* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009)

Homer-Dixon, Thomas, *Environment, Scarcity, Violence* (Princeton: PUP, 2001).

- Klare, Michael, *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict* (New York: Metropolitan, 2001), ch. 1.
- Levy, Marc, 'Is the environment a national security issue?' *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (1995), pp. 35-62.
- Lowi, Miriam, *Water and Power: The Politics of as Scarce Resource in the Jordan River Basin*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Cambridge: CUP, 1995).
- Myers, Norman, *Ultimate Security: The Environmental Basis of Political Stability* (Washington: Island, 1996).
- Selby, Jan, *Water, Power and Politics in the Middle East: The Other Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (London: IB Tauris, 2003).
- Shiva, Vandana, *Water Wars: Privatisation, Pollution and Profit* (London: Pluto, 2002), ch. 4.
- Starr, Joyce, 'Water wars', *Foreign Policy*, No. 82 (1991).
- Thomas, Caroline, *The Environment in International Relations* (London: RIIA, 1992).
- Tucker, Richard and Edmund Russell, eds., *Natural Enemy, Natural Ally: Toward an Environmental History of Warfare* (Corvallis: Oregon State UP, 2004).
- Vogler, John and Mark Imber, eds., *The Environment and International Relations* (London: Routledge, 1996).
- Westing, Arthur, ed., *Global Resources and International Conflict: Environmental Factors in Strategic Policy and Action* (Oxford: OUP, 1986).
- Wolf, Aaron, *Conflict Resolution and Prevention in Water Systems* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2002).

## **10: British Foreign Policy in a time of Austerity: the Coalition and Britain's role in the World**

- What are the principle challenges faced by UK Foreign Policy-makers? Can the UK still 'punch above its weight'?
- In future, which 'British values' should inform UK foreign policy and how?
- What kind of future operations should the UK's armed forces expect to be involved in?

### *Required Readings:*

HM Government, *Strategic Defence and Security and Review 2010*, (due for publication after October 2010 Comprehensive Spending Review).

R. Niblett et. al., *The UK and the World: Rethinking the UK's International Ambitions and Choices Session 5: Options for Security and Defence Policy*. Chatham House Transcript, July 2010.

R. Niblett et. al., *The UK and the World: The UK's International Ambitions, Priorities and Choices Session 7: The UK's International Ambitions, Priorities and Choices*. Chatham House Transcript, July 2010

*Further Reading:*

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